

Message Text

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PAGE 01 WARSAW 03091 01 OF 02 140740Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----006782 140801Z /10/11

R 131008Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4479
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 WARSAW 3091

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: RO PL US UR YO
SUBJ: THE CEAUSESCU VISIT IN PERSPECTIVE - WARSAW'S

REF: BUCHAREST 1993

1. WE, LIKE THE DEPARTMENT, READ BUCHAREST 1993 WITH
GREAT INTEREST. WE AGREE IT IS INDEED A THOUGHT-PROVOKING
MESSAGE.

2. WE WOULD NOT PRESUME TO COMMENT ON THE EXTENT TO WHICH
CEAUSESCU MIGHT SLIP INTO SOME OF TITO'S EXTENSIVE WARD-
ROBE OF MANTLES. NOR DARE WE OFFER GRATUITOUS ADVICE ON
HOW THE ROMANIAN CHIEF OUGHT TO BE RECEIVED
IN WASHINGTON. BUT WE DO HAVE SOME THOUGHTS ON HOW
THE POST-TITO AND POST-BREZHNEV ERAS MIGHT
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AFFECT POLAND, AND WE SUBMIT THEM FOR WHAT THEY
MAY BE WORTH IN THE GENERAL DISCUSSION OF EASTERN
EUROPEAN PROSPECTS.

3. IT HAS BECOME ACCEPTED CONVENTIONAL WISDOM THAT
TEMPERATURES IN EUROPE WILL RISE WHEN BREZHNEV AND TITO LEAVE
THE SCENE. THE POLES WILL BECOME ESPECIALLY APPREHENSIVE.

THEY FREELY ADMIT THEIR ROOM FOR MANEUVER IS DEPENDENT ON STABILITY IN EUROPE AND ON REASONABLY GOOD US-SOVIET RELATIONS, AND THEY ASSUME THAT CHANGES AT THE TOP IN MOSCOW AND BELGRADE WILL BE FOLLOWED BY PERIODS OF TENSION AND UNCERTAINTY.

4. AS A GENERAL RULE, WHAT GOES ON IN AND AMONG THE BALKAN COUNTRIES MATTERS LITTLE TO THE POLES, EXCEPT OF COURSE WITHIN THE ENFORCED CONTEXT OF CEMA AND WARSAW PACT MATTERS. OTHERWISE, THE SOUTHERN TIER OF COMMUNIST COUNTRIES SEEMS FAR AWAY AND IRRELEVANT TO THE AVERAGE POLE AND INDEED, LARGELY SO TO THE POLISH LEADERSHIP. THE TITO SUCCESSION IS AN EXCEPTION, AND THE POLES LOOK AHEAD TO IT, LIKE MOST EUROPEANS, WITH SOME FOREBODING. MEANWHILE, HOWEVER, TITO'S YUGOSLAVIA IS NOT SEEN AS MUCH OF A MODEL FOR POLAND, EXCEPT BY A HANDFUL OF ECONOMISTS (WHOSE NUMBERS NEVER- THE LESS IS GROWING) WHO ARE BEGINNING TO FACE REALISTICALLY THE NEED FOR SOME FUNDAMENTAL STRUCTURAL REFORMS IN POLAND'S SYSTEM.

5. IF TITO HAS HAD LITTLE DEMONSTRATION IMPACT IN POLAND, CEAUSESCU HAS HAD EVEN LESS. POLES MIGHT TAKE SOME VICARIOUS PLEASURE FROM TIME TO TIME IN THE ABILITY OF THE ROMANIANS TO TWIT MOSCOW, BUT THEY ARE MADE NERVOUS BY IT NEVERTHELESS. (THE CONFIDENTIAL

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TRUTH IS, MOST POLES WE HAVE TALKED WITH, BOTH PRIVATE CITIZENS AND OFFICIALS, DO NOT COTTON TO CEAUSESCU ("BALKAN COWBOY", ONE CONTACT CALLED HIM). THEY FIND HIS WORLD STATESMAN POSTURE SOMEWHAT PRESUMPTIOUS AND HIS DOMESTIC REGIME UNNECESSARILY REPRESSIVE.) ALTHOUGH GIEREK HAS TRIED TO CUT SOMETHING OF AN INDIVIDUAL PROFILE FOR HIMSELF, ESPECIALLY IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, POLISH FOREIGN POLICY HAS DUTIFULLY REFLECTED SOVIET POSITIONS ON ALL ISSUES OF ANY SIGNIFICANCE.

6. IT WOULD SEEM, INDEED, THAT THE GIEREK LEADERSHIP CALCULATES THAT UNSWERVING LOYALTY TO THE USSR IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS IS THE PRICE, ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES, FOR SOVIET FOREBEARANCE TOWARD A POLISH INTERNAL REGIME THAT IS ON SOME WAYS UNORTHODOX AND

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ACTION SS-25

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AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 WARSAW 3091

EXDIS

IN A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT RESPECTS PATENTLY MORE LIBERAL THAN MOSCOW'S OWN. IN FACT, AS SEEN FROM HERE, IT DOES NOT SEEM MUCH OF AN OVERSIMPLIFICATION TO SUGGEST THAT POLAND AND ROMANIA HAVE SOUGHT TO MAINTAIN A MODUS VIVENDI WITH THE USSR IN ALMOST DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSITE WAYS, THE ROMANIANS RUNNING A CONSPICUOUSLY TIGHT SHIP INTERNALLY WHILE CARRYING ON A FOREIGN POLICY THAT, GIVEN THEIR ALLIANCE AND GEOGRAPHIC RELATIONSHIPS, COULD AT TIMES BE CALLED ADVENTURESOME HAD THEY NOT SHOWN SUCH A KEEN SENSE FOR THE MARGINS OF SOVIET TOLERANCE. THE PRESENCE OF 55-60 THOUSAND SOVIET MILITARY PERSONNEL ON POLISH SOIL ACCENTUATES THE EXTREME CARE AND PRECISION WHICH THE POLES MUST MAINTAIN IN FOLLOWING THEIR PARTICULAR BRAND OF LIBERALISM.

7. THIS FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE IN THEIR POLICIES TOWARD THE USSR NOTWITHSTANDING, BOTH POLAND AND ROMANIA OBVIOUSLY SHARE A COMMON INTEREST IN THE SHAPE OF THE POST-BREZHNEV REGIME, AT A MINIMUM HOPING IT WILL TAKE NO HARDER A LINE THAN ITS PREDECESSORS TOWARD ITS EAST EUROPEAN CLIENTELE. IT SEEMS TO US, HOWEVER, CONFIDENTIAL

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THAT NO MORE THAN TITO'S WOULD BREZHNEV'S DEPARTURE IN ITSELF BE LIKELY TO AFFECT THE CONTRASTING STYLE AND CONTENT OF POLISH AND ROMANIAN FOREIGN POLICY GENERALLY, AND, IN PARTICULAR, TOWARD THE US. MUCH DEPENDS ON HOW THE SUCCESSION WORKS OUT IN

EACH COUNTRY, THOUGH.

8. IN SUM, THEREFORE, THE WEIGHTY FACTORS CITED BY EMBASSY
BUCHAREST AS BEARING ON CEAUSESCU'S VISIT SEEM LARGELY SPECIFIC
TO THE ROMANIAN CASE. IN ANY EVENT, NEITHER THEY, NOR ANY
POSSIBLE CHANGES IN OUR APPROACH TO ROMANIAN RELATIONS IN LIGHT
OF THE CONSIDERATIONS RAISED IN BUCHAREST 1993, WOULD SEEM TO
CALL FOR PARALLEL CHANGES IN HOW WE CONDUCT OUR RELATIONS WITH
POLAND.
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